1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

593 wives and thus lead to frequent divorce. In such circumstances a close intimate relationship between husband and wife is a victory of personality over social and cultural conditions in the society.

Other Family Relations and the Behavior Norms

593 602 571 829 867 To the Kanuri themselves, family relations—those between parents and children, between siblings, uncles and nephews, grandparents and grandchild, between one in-law and another and so on—are part of a larger framework of behavior governing almost all the important relations between persons and groups in the society. The Kanuri believe that these relations originate in the family where the person first learns them and are then extended outwards to include all of the important social relations of adult life. From the anthropologist's point of view it is impossible to say which comes first. Do the family relations create or cause those social relations which best suit them, or does the society outside the family create the kind of family relations required by the society at large? Whatever the answer, the Kanuri are quite clear on this point. They believe that the rules governing social relations in the family and household are the essential guides to the successful operation of the larger scaled organizations in the economic and political life of their society. Thus many social relations in Bornu have a kin-like quality or are spoken of using the idiom of kinship, even though the persons involved clearly recognize that they have no kinship with one another through genealogical, descent group, or affinal relations.

593 577 579 The most important of these relations is the *bərzum* or discipline-respect relationship closely modelled on, and usually spoken of in terms of, the father-son relationship. In this relationship a father gives his son protection, security, food and shelter, a place or status in the community, an occupation, helps him to arrange a marriage, and represents him in the adjudication of disputes. In his turn the son must be completely loyal, obedient and subserviant to his father, and work for him [861] in whatever way the father feels is necessary. This respect is so demanding a mode of behavior in families that young children are sometimes sent away to a relative's household, usually to a grandparent, and return as one infomant put it, "when they [602] understand respect." When the father dies, an older brother or a paternal uncle may take the place of the father as head of the household. He then receives the same respect from the dead man's children. This is so because they are older men with authority in the household. Thus all senior relatives, older siblings, and paternal uncles receive respect, and although it may not have the intense quality of the father-son relationship to begin with, everybody knows they may have to treat such a [867] person as if he were a father under certain circumstances. Besides this, a young [561] child is taught that in general older people are to be respected, no matter what their sex or degree of relationship to oneself. Other persons in society are indicated as being "like your father" or "greater than your father" in the amount of discipline and respect that they require. Religious specialists, political leaders, and any compound head with whom a person is staying are all in this category. In other words, the father-son behavior norm is the model used by the people themselves to describe the nature of all authority relations in the society.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

4

The Life Cycle: From Birth to Death in Kanuri Society

THE HISTORY of Kanuri society, its family and household organization, and the other groupings described later in this book that make it into a system, are all activated and made real by the people who spend their lives in Bornu. Kanuri society, indeed any society, can be described by giving the major details of its organized social life. However, such a description uses as its units the roles and groups that make up each organization. The units (roles and groups) are separate parts of the system, but it is important to remember that roles and groups are stage settings for the behavior of real people who are born, grow up, love, hate, get married, grow old and die. Some are more successful, some less so, but the way in which they live a Kanuri life from beginning to end is what produces the energy, the continuity, and the change within the structure of their society.

Like people everywhere the Kanuri see a pattern in the life span of individuals. This is thought of as a series of stages or grades determined fundamentally by age and sex. Whether he or she be rich or poor, peasant, slave, or of royal blood these stages still apply and mark off a lifetime. Like age grades in all societies there is a rough correlation at each stage with that of physiological growth, maturation and decline. However, the specific factors of local geography and the adaptation to it, as well as their social complexity and culture history, have molded the grades into the specific set of life stages that can be called Kanuri. In the future, the forces of modernism will add their weight to this stream and produce changes in this traditional cycle. For the present, however, I want to present a picture of a Kanuri lifetime, as my informants report it and as I have observed it in Bornu, starting with gestation and ending with the death of an individual.

Gestation

Kanuri men and women almost universally claim that having children is desirable for married couples, although charms that both promote and prevent pregnancy can be obtained locally from specialists. The culture norms on this point are

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

they point to the major functions of the event. Certainly it marks publicly the opening of the gates on the road to manhood for the young man, but, much more importantly, it validates, strengthens and dramatizes the relational network of ties that the family and the household maintain and attempt to promote in the society.

At some of the larger ceremonies, especially those held by the high-ranking households in Bornu, there is often a small group of recent converts who ask to join the ceremony in order to mark their religious conversion and obtain full membership in Kanuri society. In one very large circumcision we saw forty-seven boys from high status households and ten Cameroon pagans ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five. These latter seemed completely ecstatic to have been accepted at the ceremony and were the subject of much ribald joking by the Kanuri participants. However they now had an easier access to Kanuri women as wives and sweethearts, and it is conceivable that when they do in fact marry Kanuri women they and their descendants will eventually be absorbed into Kanuri society. Thus the circumcision ceremony is one of the important gateways into society for non-Moslems from the small tribes surrounding Bornu on its southern and southeastern borders.

As in many cultures around the world, the Kanuri themselves regard the circumcision ceremony as a mark of approaching manhood, and even though the boys are often quite young the ceremony still dramatizes their adult or approaching adult status. Thus after the boys have come out of confinement during which the cut heals, they are given whips which they brandish while chasing and threatening the young girls. The girls must "buy off" such treatment by giving the young boy a few pennies. This ritual was left unexplained by informants who answered questions about its meaning by saying, "We do this because it is our custom." However, it seems likely that it is a symbolic reference to the achievement of manhood or potential manhood. It symbolizes through ritual the cultural value of male dominance which the boys must now begin to practice as they prepare to join the ranks of adult men. The "buying off" of the beating by the little girls can be interpreted to reflect the flexibility of female submissiveness. A woman must behave submissively towards a man but she has levers to gain her own rights and wishes in her relationships with men.

Adolescence

As we have seen, there is an extra age-grade period for boys which lasts from around the time of circumcision to their first marriage between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. At first the young man is still thought of as a small boy, but as he advances into middle and late teenage years he becomes more of a *zairo*—that is to say, a young bachelor. He associates in his free time with other young men his age and begins to gossip about trade, politics, and nocturnal adventures with women. Young boys generally obtain their first sexual experience in their mid to late teenage period from divorced women who are often older than themselves. In their later teens and early twenties they begin to have more serious love affairs of longer duration with young divorced women who may turn out to be their future wives if their first marriages are not already arranged by their parents.

Sitting and listening to a group of these young men discussing matters of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

of this system, these will become clear since many of them are still essentially related to the household. Within the household there are individual producers who may sometimes maintain independent or semi-independent economic activities from others in the household. Again, above the household level there are often groups of households whose members, or more often whose household heads, are linked together in common economic activities. Finally in the traditional system there is the market place and its relationship to the household and to other markets. Outside of this set of interrelated units, but articulated with them, are the modern activities provided for by the government and the large commercial enterprises that have been in Bornu now for nearly half a century.

The Household as an Economic Unit

Most Kanuri households have from three to ten people living inside the compound walls. As we have seen, each person, except small children, has his or her own sleeping hut, and the major group in the household is generally a family. In the larger cities, especially the capital of Maiduguri, larger households are more common and often household heads rent out a sleeping hut or two to strangers who live semi-independently from the rest of the household. As households change through time their members, and most importantly their male members, both kin and nonkin clients, move out and establish their own residences either close by or some distance away. Whether or not they maintain close contacts with their former compound head depends to a large extent on the economic relationships being established and maintained or broken when the independent residence is set up.

The division of labor within the household depends for the most part on the sex and age of its members. The women cook, draw water for the household, help on the farm if they are not in seclusion, raise garden crops in the compound, thresh, pound and grind grain, sweep and clean the compound, tend the young children, keep chickens and ducks, and engage in petty trade, usually of a retail nature. Some women specialize in creating the elaborate Kanuri women's coiffure. Others make pots, while still others make baskets, and a few are professional entertainers who work with male drummers and praise-singers. Generally, however, these specialized activities are not common, and most men when asked about their wives claim they have no occupation besides that of being a housewife. The major tasks then are cooking and preparing food, helping on the farm, and raising children. In all these jobs younger girls help out and are under the authority of the older women who organize this work in the compound.

Men engage in politics, farm, dye, build, work metals, tan animal hides, work leather, buy, sell and slaughter cattle and smaller livestock, tailor, embroider, make hats and musical instruments, trade, weave mats, and work as laborers. They are also religious specialists, barbers, carpenters, mechanics, clerks, civil servants, and hold a host of newly introduced jobs of European origin as well as being tax payers. It is no exaggeration to say that the economy is controlled almost totally by men. The household head dispenses all incoming cash and kind resulting from craft or farm work, although a woman may keep and do as she pleases with the proceeds of her small garden inside the compound. The household head doles out

a religious role, but it receives political recognition. There are two Limans in Geidam. One Liman leads prayers on religious holidays, and is called Liman Ngumeribe (ngumeri means religious festival); the other leads the communal Friday prayers and is called Liman Zamabe (Zama means Friday). The Liman Ngumeribe conducts prayers twice each year, at the two most important festivals. When Yerima Mustapha became Ajia of Geidam, he instituted the practice of public communal prayers on the dandal each Friday. This is frequently--though not always--done in Kanuri towns, and had not been the customary practice in Geidam when Kaigama had been Ajia. Yerima made inquiries as to who was considered the most respected Malam in Geidam, and appointed that Malam as the Liman Zamabe of Geidam. The new Liman Zamabe was given a kulugu and a burnoose as marks of office. Though the Liman Ngumeribe had previously held his office under Kaigama, Yerima also gave him a kulugu and a burnoose when he came to Geidam.

2. Religious Festivals.

The month of Ramadan (April 2 to May 1, in 1957) is spent in fasting. During that time neither food nor water is taken into the mouth from sunrise to sunset. All Kanuri above the age of fifteen or sixteen keep the fast. For several years before that boys and girls keep a modified fast, in which three days of fasting are followed by nine days in which the fast is not observed. In Geidam all Kanuri outwardly keep the fast, al-

GEIDAM

796 Ngumɔri Laya or Salla Laya. This is the festival at which sac-
782 rifice of a ram is made, corresponding to the Hebrew festival of Pesach and the Christian Easter. Salla Laya was celebrated on July 9, 1957. The first ram sacrificed is the Shehu's ram in Maiduguri, a special ram with black rings about his eyes. In Maiduguri a great festival marked by communal prayer attended by the Shehu accompanies the sacrifice of this, the first ram.
[825] The Liman says the words "Bismillahi" (in the name of Allah) as he cuts the ram's throat, and the blood pours into a basin or shallow hole. In Maiduguri people rushed forward to dip their fingers into the blood and transfer it onto their face, as the
[565] blood is considered blessed. After the Shehu's ram has been
[431] sacrificed, rich men return to their homes and sacrifice their own rams. The meat is then distributed to the poor, and the people of one's ward. In Geidam Yerima Mustapha distributes about
[123] a dozen rams to other important people. In 1957 this included the visiting anthropologist, who had the ram sacrificed appropriately by a neighboring Malam, and distributed the meat as sadaka to his neighbors and the people of his ward.

796 A month after Salla Laya is the festival of Tsuro Mbulo, also called Salla Laya Ngawɔrinz --the tail of Salla Laya (Ar. Ashura). It took place on the two days of August 5th and 6th.
[785] During Tsuro Mbulo pious individuals fast for two days. Un-
[561] like Ramadan, this is not an obligatory fast, and younger men tend not to fast while older men keep the fast of Tsuro Mbulo.
796 All, however, participate in the feasting after sunset of the
431

[GEIDA]

128 to determine in which behavioral areas the younger group proved
*177 to be the more acculturated.

*177 Table XXXVIII presents 15 items in which the younger group
• 561 was more acculturated than the older. The responses of members
128 of the older group may be compared with those of the younger group by examining columns a and b. Table XXXIX lists 8 items in which little or no difference was detected between the two groups. Examining each of the items in Table XXXVIII, it is
*177 apparent that one half involve Western material goods. Item
561 1: more young men own watches and bicycles; more older men own horses. Item 2: more young men can ride a bicycle and can tell time. Item 3: both young and old say that a horse is more useful than a bicycle, but of those who say "bicycle" there are more young than old. Item 4: more young men would rather own a bicycle than a horse, while the older group would rather own a horse. This is a response which well might shift with age. When this same group of young men grows older, might they not then prefer to own a horse? Item 5: more young men smoke cigarettes and drink beer than do the older men. This type of behavior might also drop out with increasing age. Item 6: more young men have European shoes; more old men state that they would not wear them. Item 7: only members of the young group have European-style trousers; most of the older group state that they would refuse to wear them. It is clear that in the area of behavior involving Western material goods, and attitudes towards these things, the younger group appears to be the more

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 334]

[GEIDAM]

Table XXXVIII

Comparison of old and young individuals with respect to acculturation measures.

			a. old	b. young
*177 • 561	1. Western Material Goods: possession - (Table XVIII)	watch	7	17
		bicycle	3	13
		horse	20	15
	2. Western Material Goods: knowledge about items - (Table XIX)	bicycle	6	17
		time	12	18
	3. Western Material Goods: relative usefulness - (Table XXI)	bicycle	3	6
		horse	17	11
		different	1	6
	4. Western Material Goods: rather have- (Table XXI)	bicycle	3	12
		horse	18	11
	5. Western Material Goods: cigarettes and beer - (Table XXII)	do smoke	3	7
		do drink	1	5
	6. Western Material Goods: wearing European shoes - (Table XXIII)	has shoes	10	20
		would wear	5	2
		wouldn't wear	6	1
	7. Western Material Goods: wearing trousers - (Table XXIII)	has them	0	11
		would wear	4	2
		wouldn't wear	17	10
	8. Religious Behavior: wearing charms - (Table XXV)	wearing now	10	15
		rarely wears	11	8
	9. Western Medicine: would go to a doctor -	yes	16	21
	effectiveness of medicine- (Table XXVI)	European	7	11
		Koran	7	5
		different	7	7
	10. Western Medicine: number of diseases of the six for which European medicine is better (Table XXVII)-	median	2.1	3.1
	11. Western Medicine: treatment of small pox -	Kanuri	6	2
		European	12	19
		different	3	2

BEIDAN

Table XXXVIII (continued)

			old	young
177 561	12. Aspirations for son: (Table XXXIV)-	European type	7	11
		Kanuri *	13	12
	13. Marriage: marry a non-Kanuri- (Table XXXV)	yes	9	16
		no	12	7
	median number chosen of the four choices-		.4	1.2
	14. Marriage: marry an educated wife - (Table XXXVI)	yes	12	20
		no	.9	3

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MSI4 Kanuri MSI4

Table XXXIX

177 561 Acculturation measures in which little or no difference was shown between the old and the young members in the sample.

1. Knowledge of other languages (Table XVI) - slight superiority of young in English, not in others.
2. Ability to read (Table XVII) - slight superiority of young in English script, not in Arabic script.
3. Religious behavior: fasting during the minor fast of Tsuro Mbulo (Table XXIV).
4. Charity and generosity: giving a gown to a stranger (Table XXIX).
5. Education: sending son to school (Table XXX).
6. Education: sending daughter to school (Table XXX).
7. Arbitration of Disputes: going for sholo or going to court (Table XXVIII).
8. Marriage: willingness to allow wife to work (Table XXXVII).

[GEIDAM]

#177 • 56 acculturated.

The greater acculturation of the younger group also emerges from their responses in the area of attitudes towards Western medicine (Items 9, 10, 11). Item 9: more young men would go to a European doctor; the young men believe that Western medicine is the more effective, while the old men are evenly divided between Western medicine and the Koran. Item 10: the members of the young group tend to prefer Western medicine for a greater number of diseases than do the members of the older group. Item 11: with respect to the treatment of smallpox, more members of the older group prefer Kanuri treatment than do members of the younger group. In this area the responses of the younger group are like their responses with respect to Western material goods.

In examining the remaining items in Table XXXVIII in which the young and the old group differ (Items 8, 12, 13, 14) it is revealing to turn to Table XXXIX to compare these items with similar items in which the two groups do not differ. The two groups do not show much difference in their knowledge of other languages (except that the younger group shows a slight advantage in their knowledge of English), or in their ability to write (except that again the younger group has an advantage in writing in English script). With respect to religious behavior, there is no difference between the groups among those who fast at Tsuro Mbulo (Item 3, Table XXXIX), but there is a difference between the groups in the wearing of charms (Item 8, Table

[GEIDAM]

*177 561 XXXVIII). Both of these findings are of interest because several of those who did not fast at Tsuro Mbulo gave as their reason the explanation that they were young, implying that the young are not expected to keep the fast of Tsuro Mbulo while the old are. On examining the ages of those who do fast on that occasion it becomes apparent that there is no difference in age--equal proportions of young and old observe the fast. With respect to the wearing of charms, it is found that a greater number of young men actually wear charms than do old men. In this case, the younger group exemplifies traditional religious norms more avidly than does the older group. The value of charity and generosity is upheld among the young to the same extent that it is upheld among the old (Item 4, Table XXXIX). The young do not appear more eager to send either son or daughter to the European school than do the old (Items 5 and 6, Table XXXIX). On the other hand, they favor European sorts of occupations in their aspirations for their sons (Item 12, Table XXXVIII), more so than does the older group. It would appear that members of the younger group are freer and wider ranging in the hopes which they express for their sons, but are not really prepared to implement these hopes by sending their sons to receive a Western education which would make some of their hopes possible. Perhaps this is once again a case of wider aspirations among the young men, which change and become more conservative with age. As they grow older, their aspirations may change and they may wish their sons to engage in traditional Kanuri activities rather than in Western activities.

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

[BEIDAN]

*177 • 561 The final items that remain to be discussed are the arbitration of disputes (Item 7, Table XXXIX), in which the two groups do not appear to differ, and marriage. Attitudes towards marriage again reveal an interesting inconsistency in the younger group. It can be seen in Item 13 (Table XXXVIII) that most of the younger group are willing to marry a woman who is not Kanuri, while most of the older group would not; furthermore, they would marry a higher percentage of the four tribes mentioned than would the older group. The overwhelming majority of the younger group would also marry an educated woman (Item 14, Table XXXVIII); many more of the older men would refuse to marry an educated woman compared to the younger group. However, when it comes to allowing one's wife to work as a dispenser or a school-teacher the younger group is no more permissive than is the older group. The two groups do not differ with respect to this question (Item 8, Table XXXIX). It would appear that greater tolerance in accepting a woman as one's wife is a function of youth, but that this is not necessarily accompanied by greater permissiveness in the treatment of wives. The younger group would uphold traditional Kanuri norms as strictly as would the older group in the matter of allowing one's wife to work as a school-teacher.

It is evident that relative age is a factor influencing degree of acculturation in specific behavioral areas. The areas most affected are material culture, treatment of diseases, aspirations for children, and permissiveness in selecting a mar-

GEIDAM

*177 riage partner. On the other hand, no differences were detected
• 561 in areas involving important traditional Kanuri values: religious behavior, charity, arbitration of disputes, education of children, and willingness to permit a wife to work.

C. Degree of Acculturation of the Eight Groups and Categories.

128 *177 Having considered each of the acculturation measures in turn, and having discussed the relative acculturation of each group with respect to that measure, it is appropriate now to consider each of the eight groups and categories in turn, examining the behavioral areas in which that group demonstrated a high degree of acculturation when compared to the other groups as well as the behavioral areas in which that group proved to be less acculturated than the others.

The method adopted for the presentation of each group so that it might be compared with the other seven groups, was to take all the measures of acculturation used in the study, of which there were forty-three (that is, forty-three distinct questions), and to give the proportion of acculturated responses on all forty-three questions for each group in turn. However, in order to judge how each group compared with the total sample, it was necessary to compare the proportion of acculturated responses in each individual group with the proportion of acculturated responses in the entire sample for each question. Thus the proportion of acculturated responses in the entire sample was considered as a baseline, from which each of the eight

As a man and woman grow older they demand 582
and are given progressively more independence of choice in all matters [561]
including marriage. This is more likely among the peasants. For here 587
second marriages are not as likely to be used as mechanisms for creating, 565
strengthening and maintaining relationship by the girl's luwali to whom 557
it is traditional to return on the occasion of divorce. It is more
likely that the upper class woman will come under the power and author-
ity of her luwali in subsequent marriages than the lower class person who
is left freer to make her own liaisons. The upper class woman although [589]
not in purda during her divorced status must be much more delicate and
restrained about her movements. This necessity to maintain an appear-
ance of probity lends itself more easily to the manipulation of the upper
class woman by her luwali after her first one or two divorces than does
the relative freedom of the lower class woman. Among all classes an
extremely young divorcee of under fifteen is almost sure to have little
freedom of choice for her second husband, although cases of such early
divorce are rare.

During the harvest season (November to February) divorced 581
women (sower) are more serious about trying to pin down one of the tem- [585]
porary liaisons to marriage. Men at this season are similarly inclined [221]
but tend to shop around a little before settling on one choice, unless
their minds were made up before the harvest season opened. With a few [595]
exceptions (notably female) both sexes consider married status desirable
and for a man, having two wives is better than having one. The excep- [589]
tions to this rule are women who are either very attractive to men and
thus enjoy themselves economically and sexually as unmarried women, and/
or women who refuse to give up their independence for marriage. These
factors are often related and as we shall see there is room for the ex-
pression of all of them within marriage. Men marry if their harvest 600

1. Age Differences

593
561
[582]
[581]

It is much simpler for the male to exercise control over the behaviour of very young girls, especially the young virgins of nine to thirteen years, when they are first married. This is another reason for the attractiveness of virgin marriage, for in this situation, the cultural ideal of male dominance is most possible. To a lesser extent because of the operation of other factors, large age differences between husband and wife, when the husband is the elder, make his dominant role more accessible. This is due to the general respect given to age in the society and may be one of the reasons behind the value placed upon the union of a man to a woman who is younger than himself.

2. Number of Marriages

593
587
562

As a woman increases the number of her divorces and experiences progressively more independence and freedom in her zower (divorced woman) status, it becomes more and more difficult for her to assume the submissive role required of her by her culture. As we have seen the amount a male is willing to pay for a woman decreases with the number of her past divorces, for he knows she has not had a past history of long term submission to one man, but rather a series of marriages which were broken by some disagreement between her and her husband. The number of her past divorces indicates her willingness in the past to break the marriage rather than submit to her husband's will or it represents her husband's dissatisfaction with her behaviour, which also points to her inability to conform to the cultural ideal of wifely virtue. Thus the number of divorces a woman has contracted is both a measure of her desire for independence and also a stimulus to the development of more independence, rather than submissiveness.

[183]

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 M514 Kanuri M514

[p. 148]

CHAPTER VI

The Life Cycle

121 In the material to follow it is taken for granted that Kanuri culture and society have a perpetuity beyond the individual life span. That is to say, there is a cultural tradition and an ordered social life into which the individual is socialised.

• 561 As individuals pass through various phases of life in Bornu, they are at any one time identified as occupying one of a serially related set of roles, one for each sex. These are not the [571] only roles occupied by members of the society. Kanuri social organisation is complex and heterogeneous, so that an infant may be a farmer's infant, a blacksmith's, the child of a noble family and so on. However, everyone in Bornu is at one time an infant, a child, an adult or an old person and it is this universal set of serially related roles which is referred to here as the age status system. Although these roles are individually experienced they have their definition in the social life of the individual as he passes from birth to death. Thus, despite the fact that there is a rough correlation between age statuses and the physiological phases of life, a more profound and precise understanding of age statuses can be accomplished through a description of the social roles of developing individuals.

Birth

844 At birth the mother is assisted by a midwife (sartâma). Her own mother may be present if she is in the vicinity as well as [846] other women in the compound and neighbouring compounds. The husband must set by a store of firewood which is used for hot baths around the time of parturition and during the forty-day confinement period after birth.

794 793 mitted to as a superior whose authority is unquestioned. In other cases, mallams near at hand or in the compound take up the job and the [871] child is not forced to leave home. Today there is the added possibility of receiving religious instruction in the government schools. However, this is still rare in rural areas.

591 By the age of ten or twelve years, a young Kanuri boy may have lived in quite a number of households. One informant related how he was adopted by his grandfather at weaning, given to a wandering mallam at the age of six, entered Junior Primary School as a boarder at nine, and entered the service of a District Head at the age of thirteen. This is not an extreme case, especially when the high rate of divorce is considered. Thus a young boy or girl, especially the former, can find himself in one to five or more different households or primary 591 group settings by the time he has reached early adolescence. It may 571 be proper here to ask who is the authority figure in the young child's life; who is it that in his person embodies or symbolises authority? And the answer is of fundamental importance — no one. The Kanuri child learns, whether he lives in one compound or many, that his society is a system of ranked hierarchies in which there are many people to whom he must give respect and subordination.

Puberty

561 By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it (which means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen), the sex roles and many of their accompanying behaviours have been established. From this period onward the development towards adult status is sharply differentiated for males and females. Somewhere around puberty a young 881 girl is given in virgin marriage by her father or the person who has been 582 designated as having the power of marriage dispensation over her. Male

882 at least one non-agricultural occupation, even if it is just the marketing of agricultural commodities as is the case with surplus producers.

882 In summary then, adolescence (in the limited sense referred to above) sharply divides male and female roles. The female has taken on her role as a married woman and it is within this status that she completes the learning of skills necessary for her adult role in society. Her status attributes may shift and change during her mature life. She may become single again (most women do), remarry, and bear children, but the framework of her adulthood is entered into at first virilocal marriage, at or before puberty. For the boy, adolescence is socially entered into at his circumcision and congeals psychologically after physiological puberty. He utilizes this period to learn the multitude of interpersonal and occupational skills which he requires as an adult, and a potential family head.

582 One of the interesting functional results of having an [561] extra age status for males only is its artificial increase in the [165] availability of women for marriage. If we consider for the sake of [162] argument that the Kanuri life span is sixty years and the ratio of men to women is roughly one to one,(1) then with women marrying roughly around the age of ten to twelve and men marrying roughly around the age of twenty to twenty-two, women are marriageable for approximately fifty and men for forty years respectively. In other words, women would be of marriageable status one-fifth longer in time relative to men.(2)

(1) Bornu Census: 1951. Males: 790, 361. Females: 805, 347.
(2) If the life span is put at a smaller figure, as it probably ought to be to correspond with the facts, then this ratio would be larger because the length of adolescence is a constant.

634 571 contiguous households close to their superior's residence. The organization has a Wakil as its sub-head who acts as DH on the few occasions when the DH is absent from his District headquarters. The general term for all male members of this extended household organization is waladai (roughly non-kin follower) or tada Ajiabe (sons or boys [554] of the DH). The waladai, whether slave or freeborn, are also called ko'una if they have been given a horse by the DH which gives them a higher status than the unhorsed members of the organization. In Magumeri a few of these followers have joined the DH during their own lives, most other freeborn as well as slave, are hereditary followers of this particular DH and his father before him.

Collectively the members of this group are referred to by non-members as tada Ajiabe. When they are older and married with farms (given to them by the DH)(1) and perhaps have some dry season activity, they are at first glance hardly distinguishable from ordinary peasants. However, unlike ordinary peasants, the DH uses them as messengers and helpers in nomad cattle tax levies. They in turn never fail to ride in a gallop in the DH's honour, if they have a horse. Furthermore, they must be ready and willing to move with their leader to a new District should he be stationed elsewhere. Younger members who live either in the DH's compound or with older members of the organization are often feared by respectable townsfolk. They have no farms, no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences, and are felt to be spies for the DH.

634 571 • 561

[423] [425] (1) Within the available land of the District Headquarters there is an acreage which is under the direct dispensation of the DH and beyond the jurisdiction of the Lawan. The DH may also appropriate farm land for his own use or dispensation beyond the borders of present farming activities in the District capital.

634
571 Conversation among peasants suddenly stops when one of these fellows
561 approaches the group.

634 The DH's followers are disciplined by the DH rather than
692 the local Lawan. Peasant legal cases usually come before the Lawan for adjudication. But legal cases between peasants and DH's followers are brought to the DH or the District Alkali (Muslim judge) court. The DH disciplines his followers for any high-handed treatment of peasants because such behaviour if continued unchecked can bring action against
[681] him from higher up in the state. Thus the DH Magumeri severely and publicly reprimanded his followers for misdemeanours such as assaulting peasants or not repaying debts. One member of the DH's organisation was publicly reprimanded and privately threatened with expulsion from the organization for burning down a pagan's hut because the latter would not give up his wife to the desires of the follower.

634 The followers of DH receive money, food, clothes and status
571 in the society as members of a powerful organization. In return they give him the prestige afforded to anyone who has a large retinue of loyal supporters in a culture where such followings are highly valued.
[557] Informants often remark that one DH was a "bigger" man than another
634 because he had more followers. They also serve as his executive and
571 carry out his decisions in the District. Thus in Magumeri District,
661 where not many of the people are enthusiastic about western education, the DH uses his followers to abduct children from their parents in order to fill the two classrooms of the District's only school. Another DH known to the writer assesses each Lawan for the amount of taxes he must raise annually with the understanding that there will be enough left over after revenue is delivered to the capital for the DH and the Lawan to have some cash gains. In one case a Lawan of the District claimed

593 In the marriage relationship itself there is a conflict
183 between what most Kanuri men expect of their wives - that is to say, subordination - and what they actually experience. It is held that this conflict is due to the woman's ability to subvert the cultural ideal of male dominance through his dependence upon her for much of
[565] his own status in the community. This is less true among the upper
[586] classes where the man is less dependent upon the woman for his status, and at this level there are fewer divorces.

571 The discussion of the Kanuri life cycle along with the material on kinship and marriage has been designed to give a description on interpersonal relations. Although the whole fabric of Kanuri society operates at once, the large scaled structural features of the society are linked behaviourally by these patterns of interpersonal relations. At the level of social stratification, political and economic organization, the organizational patterns of the total society must be seen as operating through and with the modes of interpersonal relations.

• 561 In the life cycle, we have seen how age statuses are only roughly correlated with the physiological phases of growth, maturity and decline. They are more precisely defined in terms of sequences of skills to be learned and tests to be passed during the lives of individuals.

858 During the first eighteen months of life the infant (tiful) is introduced into the company of its family within the context of Kanuri culture. This period sets in motion the learning experiences which guide the new member into full adult participation in the society. Until the end of the tiful stage the individual is treated gently and permissively, and socialization pressure is at a minimum. The tiful

858 is considered too young to understand that it must not do this or that. Its primary task is to survive and feed at the breast while becoming identified as a new member in its immediate society.

867 After weaning (and perhaps adoption) the steady, inexorable process of socialisation training is applied to the child. This childhood training teaches the young Kanuri slowly but with ever increasing emphasis the central importance of the behaviour norm. Especially is this true of bərzum (discipline-respect) whose necessity and moral primacy the growing child is taught to understand and utilize. This means that the child is taught to shift and extend the culturally prescribed modes of behaviour from one situation to another, and from person to person. From the point of view of the individual, childhood
867 training results in a picture of society. Of major importance in this
571 picture or image of society is its personal diffuseness. The person learns that there is not necessarily a final or definite locus of power and authority residing in any particular person. Instead there is rank and status, and the individual learns to respond in a culturally prescribed fashion to many combinations and permutations of these role characteristics by applying the proper behaviour norms. This, in turn, prepares the individual to live in the adult world of Kanuri social relations in which there are multitudes of ranks to which he may be called upon to react.

• 561 By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it, which
867 means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen, the sex roles
882 and many of the accompanying behaviours have been learned. From this period onward, the development towards adult status is sharply dif-
[582] ferentiated for males and females. Girls enter into their first marriage at this time, while boys begin the occupational training that

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

242 177 This was reflected strongly throughout the fertilizer demonstration. The super-phosphate was first praised as a part of western technology which was dubbed "wonderful". It was made clear that this technique could increase productivity, but the idea was gained that it was because of European technological superiority that the fertilizer should be considered worthwhile. Perhaps the most rigid extension of western culture as well as technology, was in the use of one-acre plots as demonstration units. Since the goal of demonstration was to indicate the increase in productivity occasioned by the fertilizer, it was necessary only to obtain a plot and divide it in two. By always insisting on an acre, the field worker often left part of a farm plot out of the experiment arbitrarily, and by implication emphasized the "foreign" character of the innovation.

[829] The reaction to all this was simply to intensify the belief that Europeans knew nothing about Kanuri farming techniques.

242 177 561 [576] Another difficulty could have been the field worker's age. However, he was well aware that in Kanuri society young men do not tell older men how to behave, and was at all times polite, and respectful to older peasants. On the other hand, Malam [554] Abdulla was a member of the political organization by training, and by birth (his father was a Village Head). This gave him high status so that he could make suggestions to older people.

242 177 [829] Negative attitudes not to his age, but to his programme were reflected in peasants' statements to the writer that Malam Abdulla came from Yajuwa, to the south of Magumeri where the soil was a different colour, and therefore more amenable to the "European compost".

Finally, there was no "follow up" on the successful demonstration. The field assistant made little or no attempt to assess whether or not the peasants were convinced of the utility of the fertilizer. He conceived of his job as one in which his main task was to carry out a successful field demonstration, keep records, and turn in a final report. During the meeting, well after the harvest season when negative opinions and stereotypes had had several months to congeal, only the leaders of the community spoke of the project. No participating farmer was brought forward to speak of the success which he had observed on his